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## Eye on the World

### Hoover Library Gathers Material to Shed Light On Events Overseas

It Collects Documents From Russia, China, Aids CIA; Network of Agents Helps

A Haven for Goldwater Men?

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PALO ALTO, Calif.—The 14-story tower on the Stanford University campus houses some startling goings-on. Messages go out to smugglers in Hong Kong and to other agents in trouble spots around the world. Documents arrive directly from the Kremlin and Peking. CIA agents browse in the cluttered halls and rooms.

It's a pretty spooky place—for a library. But this is no ordinary library. It's the Hoover Institution on War, Revolution and Peace. The Hoover tower (Hootow, in campus slang) has become one of the world's major repositories for documents dealing with 20th century political and economic developments.

When the Soviet Union discovered that a copy of the first issue of Izvestia, the government newspaper, was missing from its archives, Russian officials got a copy from Hoover. The institution has the first published documents of the Chinese Communist Party and the files of the Okhrana, the Czarist secret police for the years 1863 to 1917. Within the past year, the institution was able to provide the Central Intelligence Agency with a purloined photocopy of a seven-year-plan drawn up by a Hungarian Communist economist for the government of Ghana. When opposition leaders are arrested by South Africa's government, their papers and files are swiftly spirited out of the country to Hoover.

#### Attracting Scholars

In one recent year, 1,000 scholars from 36 states and 27 foreign countries came to dig into the institution's vast collection. Douglas W. Bryant, Harvard University librarian, calls Hoover "one of the great libraries of the world in the fields in which it specializes."

Hoover is more than just a collection of documents, however. The institution supports about two dozen full-time research fellows. It is publishing 32 books this year based on research in its collections. And it currently is financing more than 120 research projects by its own staff and outsiders.

Much of this work is of interest to the Government and its diplomatic and intelligence agencies. A recent 2,000-page work called *The Politics of the Chinese Red Army* brought Government orders for 250 copies. That Hoover has links with the CIA is undisputed, though it ap-

pears to get little if any money from the intelligence agency (\$300 was given Hoover last year by American Friends of the Middle East Inc., a known recipient of CIA funds).

Some scholars believe that the institution—or, at least, some of its staffers—has moved beyond objective research into the realm of politics. "Some of the members of the senior staff are propagandists, not scholars," asserts Oli Holsti, a Stanford faculty member whose father, a Finnish diplomat, left his papers to Hoover. Mr. Holsti adds: "Certainly not everything that goes on there is un scholarly, but much of it is highly disreputable." A Hoover spokesman replies that the charge is too baseless to warrant further comment.

#### Protecting "the American Way"

The institution was founded by Herbert Hoover in 1919 with a grant of \$150,000. Mr. Hoover helped sustain it through his years as President and up until his death in 1964. He once said: "The purpose of this institution must be, by its research and publications, to demonstrate the evils of the doctrines of Karl Marx . . . thus to protect the American way of life."

Hoover now has an endowment of about \$3 million, and its annual income is fattened by donations from such sources as Standard Oil Co. of Calif., Gulf Oil Corp., Monsanto Co. and the Ford Foundation. Allen-Bradley Co., Milwaukee, Wis., is another donor. "One of our basic policies is to support anti-Communist and conservative organizations," the company says. "The institution falls right in with this policy."

Glenn Campbell, 42-year-old director of Hoover, took a leave of absence to work on Barry Goldwater's Presidential campaign. Stephan Possony, a research fellow, was a major Goldwater foreign affairs adviser. James Hobson, information director, also worked in the Goldwater campaign. Some of Hoover's critics claim that Mr. Campbell uses institution funds to support conservative speech writers between campaigns. Research fellow Roger Freeman, for example, is chairman of a Republican committee running a key GOP proposal for the 1968 campaign—tax-sharing between the Federal Government and the states.

#### Objectivity Defended

Notwithstanding the close identification of some staffers with aggressive anti-communism, the institution's leaders vigorously defend its objectivity. A spokesman says several staff members have a tolerant view of communism. He says the institution remains free from political domination, though not aloof from the Government. Associate director Witold S. Sworakowski says: "Any U.S. Government agency has first priority on our materials. We owe them that much for our tax-exempt status without which we just couldn't exist."

Edward J. Rozek, a visiting fellow from the University of Colorado, thinks the institution faculty is Republican-oriented—and he thinks it is a good thing. "This may be the nation's only academic body viewed as Republican, and we need more like it to establish an equilibrium," he says. Mr. Rozek, who is writing a book with Presidential foreign affairs adviser Walter Rostow, adds: "The institution didn't ask me for my political views before they brought me here."

Controversial or not, Hoover often is called on for research in sensitive areas. The United Nations recently asked it to search for some record of an eight-part proposal for peace in French Indochina supposedly made public in 1918 by Nguyen Ai Quoc, now known as Ho Chi Minh. In this case the institution was unsuccessful.

In 1951, the State Department asked Hoover to search for documentary evidence that the Soviet Union had drafted deported Polish families into Russian forced labor camps in World War II. The question was at issue in the United Nations at the time. Hoover came up with "transfer certificates" for Poles at 360 forced labor camps. Confronted with the certificates, Soviet UN ambassador Andrei Gromyko threw them on the floor and stomped on them.

Like some of the institution's other sensitive documents, the certificates were probably obtained by theft at some point. The institution says one of its curators had persuaded the anti-Communist Polish underground to part with them several years earlier. It's assumed the underground stole them from Communist authorities.

In a 1963 project for the Army, Hoover detailed China's steel industry and energy resources to the point of producing growth figures and plant locations. Yuan-li Wu, a research fellow, used Chinese government bulletins and other documents—some of them smuggled from China—to piece together the report.

#### Studying Disarmament

The U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, an independent agency established under President Kennedy, paid the institution \$200,000 to study the long-term reduction of weapons and resolution of conflict in the Far East. Turning to documents, pamphlets and newspapers it receives from Asia, Hoover scholars in April came up with a number of recommendations. These include establishment of a regional police to enforce border armistices, the promotion of regional economic and scientific programs to start a "habit of cooperation" and negotiations aimed at limited arms control as a prelude to eventual disarmament in the Far East.

"Much of the institution's information used in a study like this just isn't available elsewhere outside of Government sources," says Dennis Doolin, research curator of the East Asian collection, consisting mainly of material on China, Japan and Korea. Mr. Doolin, a paid consultant for the CIA, goes to work full-time for the agency next month.

Mr. Doolin's East Asian collection is one of Hoover's more extensive ones. Hoover houses 120,000 volumes written in Asian languages. Last year it regularly received 262 Chinese and 235 Japanese periodicals. It also has 30,000 volumes on East Asia in Western languages.

It takes 18 full-time and 6 part-time librarians, or about 15% of the institution's staff, to collect and maintain East Asian materials. John T. Ma, chief librarian of the East Asian collection, corresponds with 60 dealers in Hong Kong, 18 in Formosa and 30 in Japan. Typically, his letters order books or documents the dealers have told him they have; one recent buy of this sort was a tourist map of Red China that cost \$50. Or Mr. Ma may ask dealers to "find" a certain document for him in the hope they will be able to smuggle it out of China through agents.